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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
189 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do
177 so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he
781 should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Iloko or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ámanú-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ûma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalóbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbán*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Ásiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *ínińi*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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156 truth would have been so patent that it would have thrust itself
184 upon him.

I must confess that I also had my prejudices, when I first came
181 to the Mountain Province of Luzon: I thought that primitives were
114 different, that they were not at all like other people I had met up till then, that you could not very well treat with them as with other normal human beings, that they were very unsophisticated. Well, I had scarcely been a week among the Kankanay, when my superior left me alone and in charge of the mission for a fortnight. He told me to buy all possible timber that the natives might bring for sale, with the help of the cook as interpreter, and, in order to induce them to bring plenty of it, to give them, besides the ordinary payment, a few leaves of tobacco gratis. Very soon two young men came along (probably they also thought that I was something different) and stated that they had timber for sale, that they had left it at the outskirts of the town and that they would bring it in if I wanted them to do so. I told them, of course I did. Then the rascals asked me for tobacco, and I gladly gave them a few leaves each. So they went . . . , and never came back . . . And I knew.

156 Yes, they are human beings just like you and me, and they are as
184 different from one another as you and I. The only thing that might
181 be conceded is that the members of each tribe wear a kind of uniform,
151 that is that they use the same kind or almost the same kind of clothes,
114 that you can usually see at first glance that a certain individual is an Isneg, although he be mixed with a thousand others who are not Isneg. But here the identity stops. I had much more difficulty at first in distinguishing one individual from another. In the beginning of my stay among the Kankanay, the latter looked almost all alike to me; I really thought that they were reduced to a few types and that all the others conformed to these few; and also in this I have been disillusioned. Besides, the same also obtains the other way. Primitives who first come in contact with a limited number of white men, generally experience the same difficulty when trying to distinguish them from one another. Here in Kabugaw I have been asked more than once if my assistant and I were brothers, even when we were sitting side by side, and although we do not resemble each other in the least, not even in the color of the hair, which in our case is very noticeable. Both of us have beards, and while my hair, well, turns grey, that of my assistant rivals the sun's rays in its bright golden color. There is nothing new under the sun.

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes,
577 to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowl-
edging their deception, even after it had become patent and after
they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of
the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly.
His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may
sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case
and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories;
I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not
theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with
few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long
as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after
that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married,
I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own
code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical
climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile
soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber,
rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means
of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward
activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it,
so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually
lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we
compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain
Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading
a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this,
Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
183 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is
577 almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks
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APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

181 or if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-